

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----028505 142106Z /70

R 140754Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5328
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 07977

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, CH, SP
SUBJECT: KING JUAN CARLOS' TRIP TO CHINA: FOREIGN
MINISTER OREJA'S PRESENTATION ON SPANISH FOREIGN
POLICY JUNE 16

REF: 1. MADRID 7840, 2. MADRID 7935, 3. MADRID 7964

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENTS: SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY HAS
SPECIAL FOCUSES ON EUROPE, THE ATLANTIC, THE
MEDITERRANEAN, LATIN AMERICA, AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES,
SAID OREJA. SPAIN SEEKS THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL
AND DEFENSE UNITY OF EUROPE, OF WHICH IT IS A PART.
IT HAS A TREATY WITH THE US, BUT THE COUNTRY IS
DIVIDED ON WHETHER TO JOIN NATO. SPAIN IS AN
ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE CSCE, WHERE IT INSISTED THE
SUBJECT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN BE INCLUDED. SPAIN
SEEKS THE LONG-TERM WITHDRAWAL OF NON-MED FORCES
FROM THAT SEA, AND COOPERATION AMONG THE COASTAL
STATES OF BOTH SHORES. THE SAHARA DISPUTE IS A
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DELICATE PROBLEM FOR SPAIN, AND WHILE THE PARTIES TO
IT HAVE IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS, SAID OREJA, THE
CONFLICT WOULD ALREADY BE RESOLVED IF THE SUPERPOWERS
SO DESIRED. SPAIN HOPES FOR INCREASED RELATIONS WITH
CHINA, AND IS "WORRIED BY THE INTERFERENCE OF THE
SUPERPOWERS IN THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC" OCEANS. (WE
BELIEVE OREJA'S REMARKS ABOUT THE SUPERPOWERS PROBABLY

REPRESENT AN EFFORT TO GRATIFY THE CHINESE, AN
EXPRESSION OF CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO PEACE
INHERENT IN US-USSR COMPETITION,
AND A REFLECTION OF PERSISTENT SPANISH IMPULSES TO ASSERT
THEIR INDEPENDENCE. OREJA'S STATEMENT REGARDING THE
SUPERPOWERS AND THE SAHARA IN ADDITION PROBABLY REFLECTS
CONTINUING RESENTMENT OVER WHAT MANY HERE BELIEVE TO
HAVE BEEN US BACKING OF MOROCCO'S GREEN MARCH,

AND A LINGERING TENDENCY TO OVERESTIMATE US (AND
SOVIET) CAPACITY TO DETERMINE INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.)
THIS IS THE LAST OF FOUR TELEGRAMS SUMMARIZING CLASSI-
FIED MEMORANDA PROVIDED TO THE CHARGE AT THE KING'S
DIRECTION. THE DOCUMENTS THEMSELVES ARE BEING POUCHED.
END SUMMARY AND COMMENTS.

2. REGARDING SPAIN AND EUROPE, OREJA NOTED THAT WITH
THE ADVENT OF THE MONARCHY IN SPAIN, MEMBERSHIP IN THE
EC HAD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND CONVERSATIONS WERE BEING
HELD ON THAT SUBJECT. SPAIN HAD HAD TRADE RELATIONS
WITH THE EEC SINCE 1970, BUT THE SPANISH PEOPLE WANTED
TO JOIN: THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE LENGTHY. THE EC HAS
A POLITICAL AS WELL AS A MARKET DIMENSION, OREJA WENT
ON, AND SPAIN BELIEVES IN A STRONG EUROPE, FOR WHICH
SPAIN'S PRESENCE IS NEEDED. A SERIES OF INSTITUTIONAL
MECHANISMS, SUCH AS ONE DEALING WITH AGRICULTURE, WILL
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HAVE TO BE IMPROVED, HE ADDED. SPAIN ALSO HAS
RELATIONS WITH THE NON-EC WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES,
AND A TRADE AGREEMENT IS BEING NEGOTIATED WITH EFTA.
SPAIN BELIEVES UNITY SHOULD EMBRACE THE ECONOMIC,
POLITICAL, AND DEFENSE AREAS, OREJA SAID.

3. TURNING TO THE TOPIC OF SPAIN'S INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY, OREJA REFERRED TO THE 1976 TREATY OF
SECURITY WITH THE US AND SAID THAT IT IS STILL
UNRESOLVED WHETHER SPAIN WILL JOIN NATO OR NOT.
HE NOTED THAT IT WAS A VERY POLEMICAL TOPIC AMONG
SPANISH POLITICAL FORCES AND DESCRIBED THE POSITIONS
OF THE MAJOR PARTIES AS FOLLOWS: "PCE - NEUTRALIST
SOLUTION; PSOE - NEUTRALIST OR NON-ALIGNMENT; CENTER -
SUPPORTS ALLIANCE". THE NATO MEMBERSHIP ISSUE HAS NOT
YET BEEN JOINED, SAID OREJA, BUT WILL BE ONCE THE
CONSTITUTION CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION HAS BEEN
APPROVED. THE GOS DOES NOT BELIEVE A NEUTRALIST
POSITION MEETS SPAIN'S SECURITY NEEDS.

4. CSCE. OREJA SAID SPAIN HAS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY
IN CSCE, WHICH WILL HOLD ITS NEXT SESSION IN MADRID.
AT THE BEGINNING, THE SUBJECT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

WAS EXCLUDED, BUT AT THE INSISTENCE OF SPAIN, MALTA,
AND YUGOSLAVIA WAS INCLUDED. "ESSENTIAL FACTORS ARE
WITHDRAWAL OF NON-MEDITERRANEAN FORCES FROM THAT SEA,
AND COOPERATION AMONG COASTAL STATES OF BOTH SHORES;
AND WE BELIEVE IN THE NECESSITY OF THAT COOPERATION.
SPAIN CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THAT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE
SECOND EUROPEAN WORLD AND THE AFRICAN WORLD. REGARD-
ING MEDITERRANEAN TOPICS, SPAIN IS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EXDIS

CONFLICT (SIC) AND HAS ADOPTED CLEAR POSITION IN FAVOR
OF THE PALESTINIANS. SPAIN DOES NOT HAVE RELATIONS WITH
ISRAEL, IN SPITE OF PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY OF
RELATIONS, BUT WE WILL NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED
TERRITORIES..."

5. LATIN AMERICA. BECAUSE OF CULTURAL AFFINITY AND
HISTORY, SAID OREJA, SPAIN HAS PREFERENTIAL RELATIONS
WITH THE WHOLE HEMISPHERE. SEVERAL LA COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN
VISITED BY KING JUAN CARLOS, AND COOPERATION AGREEMENTS
HAVE BEEN SIGNED. SPAIN'S IBEROAMERICAN CENTER FOR
COOPERATION HAS BOTH CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS.

6. AFRICA. EXCEPT FOR THE ARAB COUNTRIES, SPAIN HAS
SPARSE RELATIONS WITH AFRICA, OREJA CONTINUED. OREJA
REVIEWED THE BACKGROUND OF THE SAHARA DISPUTE, CITING
SPAIN'S 1974 DECLARATION IT WOULD HOLD A REFERENDUM
IN 1975, MOROCCAN-INSPIRED BLOCKING OF UN ACTION, THE

ICJ JUDGMENT, THE GREEN MARCH COINCIDING WITH FRANCO'S DEATH, THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, AND SPANISH WITHDRAWAL. SPAIN BACKS THE UN REGARDING A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION
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TO THE SAHARA PROBLEM, AND HAS SUSPENDED ARMS SHIPMENTS TO AFFECTED COUNTRIES AS A CONTRIBUTION TO DETENTE. ALGERIA WANTS SPAIN TO DENOUNCE THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS: SPAIN, A SUPPORTER OF SELF-DETERMINATION, CANNOT AGREE. THUS ALGERIA RAISES NON-AFRICAN PROBLEM, THE CANARY ISLANDS, IN THE OAU. OREJA THEN REVIEWED THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC TIES BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE CANARIES. "WITHIN A MONTH THIS SUBJECT WILL BE TREATED IN KHARTOUM IN THE OAU," SAID OREJA. "IF THE CHINESE CAN SUPPORT US WITH FRIENDLY AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH REGARD TO THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT, WE WILL BE GRATEFUL."

7. IN HIS SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH HUANG, OREJA ALSO WENT OVER THE SAHARA PROBLEM, NOTING THAT THE MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN AND ALGERIAN THESES ARE "IRRECONCILABLE". HE WENT ON, HOWEVER, TO ASSERT THERE IS "A CLEAR BENT" ON THE PART OF THE SUPERPOWERS TO CREATE INSTABILITY IN THE AREA, "SINCE WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE SUPERPOWERS HAD WANTED TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT, IT WOULD ALREADY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED."

8. WITH REGARD TO ASIA AND CHINA, OREJA SAID "WE ARE WORRIED BY THE INTERFERENCE OF THE SUPERPOWERS IN THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEANS". THE MONARCHY WISHES TO DEEPEN RELATIONS WITH ASIA AND CHINA, WHICH BEGAN IN 1973 BUT HAVE BEEN MORE FORMAL THAN DEEP, OREJA SAID. THIS VISIT OF THE KING RESPONDS TO THE PURPOSE MENTIONED TO OREJA BY HUANG AT THE UN, "WE HAVE RELATIONS BUT NOW WE MUST GIVE THEM CONTENT." THE SIGNING OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS, BUT WE CAN INTENSIFY CULTURAL RELATIONS ALSO, OREJA CONCLUDED.

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9. WE WOULD NOTE, BASED ON THE CONTENTS OF THESE MEMORANDA AND THE WAY THEY WERE PASSED TO US, THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE KING INFORMED THE MFA THAT HE WAS TURNING THEM OVER TO THE CHARGE. WE THEREFORE URGE APPROPRIATE CAUTION BE EXERCISED IN THEIR DISSEMINATION AND THAT THEY NOT BE DISCUSSED WITH SPANISH OFFICIALS.

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